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SPEECH

OF THE

HON. WM. W. WICK, OF INDIANA,

ON THE

OREGON QUESTION.

DELIVERED,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JANUARY 30, 1846.

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SPEECH.

On the resolution of notice to Great Britain to abrogate the convention of joint occupancy relative to the Oregon territory.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union—

Mr. WICK rose and addressed the committee as follows:

He was in a place, he said, in which it had been justly remarked that one could neither speak nor hear, and in which, in point of fact, little that was said was heard. Though aware of this difficulty, he should undertake the task of speaking, and, strange as it might seem, not for Buncombe, but for this House.

His good constituents at home had been quietly enjoying the Christmas holyday, eating their ducks and turkeys, or pursuing their ordinary avocations, and were perfectly unconscious that their representative here had for the last two or three weeks exhibited the ungraceful figure of sitting here, leaning upon a desk, crouched like a catamount watching for prey, and waiting for the moment to spring forward, at the close of each of some hundred or more speeches, and, at the top of his voice, cry out "Mr. Chairman!" His constituents had heard nothing of this; but he meant to tell them about it when he got home, and let them know that the difficulty here is, not to make a speech, but to obtain the floor for the purpose of making one.

Now that I have obtained the floor, Mr. Chairman, (said Mr. W.,) I find that it is a privilege scarcely worth rejoicing over, for everything had been said that could be said on the subject, and it was now perfectly exhausted. There was not an infinitesimal point which had not been made the subject of a long speech; and I am too proud (said Mr. W.) to repeat what others have said before. What, then, shall I do? In the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, I believe it is in order to speak of matters and things in general, and also to respond to things which had been said by others in the course of this discussion. There are some things which had been said in the debate to which no direct answer has been made, and I (said Mr. W.) will attend to them.

While we are engaged here in deliberating upon a subject concerning our foreign relations—the most delicate of all topics discussed here—he could well comprehend the propriety of not "o'erstepping the modesty of nature," and of measuring every sentence by the dictates of calm discretion and prudence. He would endeavor to control himself ac-

cordingly, and to "let his moderation be seen." Yet he felt at liberty to remember that he was the representative of a fearless and independent people, who speak their minds in free off-hand style—always, however, in courtesy, or, what is better, good nature.

At an early stage of this debate we had been told by an honorable member from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] that the West and Northwest had claimed a special interest in this question; and in other quarters it seemed to be understood as a western or northwestern question. He (Mr. W.) would say that the Northwest had a strong interest in this question. So had the entire country; and he (Mr. W.) was surprised to see the representatives from some portions of the country apparently blind to that interest.

The honorable member from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] had, in addressing the committee, seen proper to infer or suppose that the Northwest was desirous, by means of this question, to bring on a war for war's sake, and on the supposition that war would be profitable to the northwest in a pecuniary point of view; and in this conclusion, so dishonorable to the Northwest, the member from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] is fully sustained by some foreign newspapers, and by some of the opposition papers at home. Sir, (said Mr. W.,) I live in the Northwest, and I know what the feelings and the wishes of her people are much better than the gentleman does. He guesses, but I know. I would take his word upon any subject concerning which his means of informing himself were ample and mine limited; and he may take my word when I tell him that he has been grossly misinformed. I have never seen a man in the Northwest who wanted a war for the sake of war, or of any supposed pecuniary profit to result from it. We, sir, are afraid of the evils of war, for it would deprive us of our market for our products, and of many of the blessings which we enjoy. War would bring as much trouble to us as to any part of the country. We would never wish for a war, either for profit or glory.

Again, it has been said that the West wants a war, or a war fever, for the purpose of making a northwestern President. What is the gentleman's position in regard to this allegation? Did the gentleman refer to the distinguished senator from Missouri, [Mr. BENTON?] If so, what will become

of that gentleman's hobby, the hard-money system, if a war should take place? A war would at once deprive him of all the benefit of his long advocacy of the hard-money principle; for his untiring advocacy of which the northwest has so much and so long admired him; for, as the honorable gentleman from South Carolina says, an era of war is always an era of paper money.

Does the gentleman refer to a distinguished citizen of Michigan and senator from that State? That distinguished gentleman lives within eleven hundred yards of the British line, and the occurrence of a war would inevitably consign his houses to the flames, and his property to destruction. Why should he invoke a war? But still (said Mr. W.) I do expect that, in the course of our history, the northwest will, at a short day, too, furnish an actual *live* President of the United States, to the great Empire State, the Ancient Dominion, and to South Carolina. And I do not think that we shall be obliged to make a war for the purpose of effecting that object. Living in the West, I am well informed as to its feelings, and I speak with confidence in regard to them. It has been said by the honorable member from South Carolina, [Mr. RHETT,] that we in the northwest have nothing to lose by a war, as we export nothing; whereas the South would lose the market for her cotton. The honorable gentleman from South Carolina was evidently misinformed on this subject. The wheat and other products of the northwest found its way to England, formerly through Canada, but now directly. The northwest makes as many clear dollars in proportion to her population from the export of her wheat and other products, as South Carolina does from the export of her cotton. The prices of our produce are as well understood in Liverpool, and London, and Charleston, as is the price of cotton. We sell our produce wherever it is wanted—to England, when her starving population require it, and to South Carolina, when her cotton and rice crops are good, and her terrapin crop fails.

In reference to the sentiment which the gentleman from South Carolina had advanced, that those should not hazard a public war—wholesale murder—who do not defend their personal honor according to the peculiar fashion adopted in some parts of the world, because, they say, that tends to murder, I will say that the gentleman is mistaken, if he applies it to us of the northwest, for we do defend our personal honor, according to our own code. The gentleman cannot refuse us our own way of doing this, while he remains a consistent advocate of State sovereignty and State rights.

The gentleman cannot gainsay that Indiana, for example, is a sovereign State, and therefore entitled to establish her own customs and usages. In extreme cases, sir, according to our custom, two gentlemen lock themselves up in a room in the third-story, and then proceed to assert their personal honor; and he that jumps out of the window, at the end of a half-hour, carrying with him the ears, eyes, noses, &c. belonging to both is the victor. That, sir, is our code; and when the whole world, (I mean the civilized world,) shall adopt it, we will fight the whole world according to that system for Oregon, or on any other point. In the event of the universal adoption of this mode, the non-voting constituents of the honorable member from South Carolina would be admirable combatants. In a war with England, it would be nigger against cockney.

But the gentleman is excusable for knowing little of the northwest, for he has never been there. No one ever emigrates from Indiana to South Carolina, and therefore South Carolina knows nothing about us; but many emigrants from South Carolina come among us, and tell us all about it; and they had taken occasion to tell us of the manifold merits and great achievements of that State. I have reason to admire that old State on many accounts. She has taught us the revenue-tariff doctrine; for though it came to us originally from Virginia, it was doubly distilled by South Carolina into a concentrated essence, and we swallowed it, and loved the dose. We admire South Carolina, also, for her talented sons. We admire her honorable bearing. We acknowledge her right to secede from the Union, and will give her, or any other discontented State, a pass for that purpose. But we do not recognise her right to remain in the Union; and yet nullify the laws of the Union. The course of South Carolina is always rather eccentric, in our estimation. She will at one time oppose the election of a President, and then support him after his election; and at another time she will contribute to elect a President, and then oppose his administration. We think she sometimes has carried her views of State sovereignty a *little* too far—to wit, when she affected to nullify the laws of the United States; and that in her political course she is a *little* too South Carolinaish. But one thing we will say for South Carolina: we will excuse her and her politicians from the charge of any presidential aspirations at the present time. The finger-board that directed to the White House, pointed also at the late election to Texas and Oregon, and now it pointed to Oregon alone; and there is no other way by which the executive mansion can be reached. I do not see South Carolina on that road.

I now turn my attention to my democratic whig friend from Illinois, [Mr. BAKER,] who had asked the supporters of Mr. Polk to reconcile our clear and unquestionable right to Oregon with the offer of the 49th parallel as a compromise. He asked how Mr. Polk, after making such an assertion of our title, could offer a compromise. I do not find in the message that Mr. Polk described any particular Oregon as ours. There is Russian Oregon, for instance, and Mr. Polk could not claim that. The assertion was made in regard to our title to the whole of our Oregon—to that part of the territory to which our right should be ascertained. How that right should be ascertained he does not say. Perhaps it must be by the "*ultima ratio regum*." But the President was partially committed upon this subject by the action of his predecessors, to offer the 49th parallel not as a right, but as a compromise, for the sake of peace—so his message tells us. Will a Clay man reprehend him for this, when the same offer was made by Mr. Clay himself, although he had said that Great Britain had no colorable title to any part of Oregon?

My friend from South Carolina [Mr. HOLMES,] has also made some remarks on this subject, to which I must pay some attention. The gentleman had contended more strongly for the British right to Oregon, and has more strongly denied the American rights there, than any British statesman or negotiator has ever done. I will turn the honorable gentleman over to his particular friend the honorable chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for an answer to his argument on that point. The gen-

demian had very poetically described the evils, and disasters, and destruction of a war. His description of British triumphs and American defeats, which he anticipates, is vastly more poetic and graphic than will be any British song written after the war shall be over to record its events. The gentleman, in his description of the immense power of Great Britain, said that she had forty war-steamers.

Mr. HOLMES. One hundred and forty.

Mr. W. continued. Well, let them bring them all on, no matter how many, they can do us very little harm. According to the gentleman, we shall be very badly off for means of defence or offence, for he says that our little privateers, and all our vessels, as soon as they leave port will be out-run, overtaken, and captured by the British steamers. I know (said Mr. W.) that the British are great monopolizers; but I never heard before that they had obtained the exclusive patent to the use of God Almighty's steam. I hope that we also can exercise the right of using it; for if we are deprived of that right, we shall next be denied the use of the wind. The gentleman has also asked us how we are going to take Oregon? whether we can march an army across the Rocky mountains? He says we cannot, for every height would prove a Gibraltar, and that every rocky pass, and every vale in Oregon, will bristle with British bayonets. Alas! we have no rifles!! Our riflemen are all dead!! Where are our rifles and riflemen? If a loyal subject of England asked the question, I would answer that our rifles were all taken, and our riflemen were all killed at the battle of New Orleans!! But we cannot take Canada; that, the gentleman says, is impossible, because the Welland canal would afford the means of transporting British fleets to the lakes, and that we could never get across to Canada, the British having command of the lakes. We cannot cross on the ice, he says, in the winter season, because the British would lay down powder kegs, all in one continued row, from the Falls of Niagara to the northwest corner of Lake Superior, then touch them off by a galvanic communication, and blow up the whole of the ice. Now, sir, these powder kegs must be all in a string, and all connected together; and there must not be a leaky one among them, and no Yankee must find it out, lest the arrangement should be disturbed. Sir, the gentleman knows nothing of our climate in the northwest. Why, sir, you may blow up the whole of the ice one night, and the water will be frozen over again the next night. The British government will have to get something stronger than gunpowder for this purpose. No article known to her extensive commerce will answer the purpose. She must deal in young volcanoes, and import some small specimens of the infernal regions to keep the lakes thawed in winter time. I am gratified, however, to learn from the honorable gentleman that South Carolina will be able to look out for herself in time of war, and that she will ensconce herself in her swamps, where she will be out of harm's way.

The gentleman asserted for South Carolina, and the sons of Marion, of Sumter, and Pinckney, the capacity to retreat into her impenetrable fastnesses, and there defend her against the world. In the event of a war for Oregon, will South Carolina thus creep into her shell?

Mr. HOLMES. I said we would come to your assistance.

We thank you, (said Mr. W.,) and I will say to South Carolina, that when the northern fanatics shall trouble her, we will come to her rescue.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GIDDINGS] has threatened the South with a war of emancipation, and an invasion by the black regiments from the West Indies. The southern gentlemen have preferred to answer him. They had better leave the one idea and its professors to us of the northwest. I had an answer for the gentleman as to this most untasteful development of his one idea. We in the northwest know his ways, for we have a few of his party in Indiana. I will waive my answer to him, but will say to him that my non-slaveholding constituents mean that justice shall be done to the South and its constitutional rights; for so intense is their anxiety on this subject, lest it should disturb the harmony of the Union, that they are ready to do full and ample justice to the South. If I should endorse what was said by the honorable member from Missouri—viz: that the gentleman's wish was father to his thought—my non-slaveholding constituents would believe me; and were they to read his [Mr. G.'s] speech, they would swear to their belief of the idea suggested by the honorable member from Missouri. We in the West do not denounce these men, but rather laugh at them, and at their utter failure to propagate their Union-destroying principles. But, sir, I can devote no more time to answering the remarks of those who have preceded me. Were I to go into a full notice and refutation of arguments against the measure before the committee, it would consume twenty hours instead of one. The little time which is left to me I will devote to the consideration of the question; and if I am asked why my speech contains no more about Oregon, I will answer that almost every thing has been said over and over again in the course of the debate. I am not careful whether or not my opinions will be deemed heretical on this subject, when I say that I am for Oregon and against a war; but for Oregon, war or no war.

I adopt (said Mr. W.) the opinion of the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. ADAMS.] and of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, [Mr. INGERSOLL,] as to the proper construction of the convention of 1827—to wit: that it is a commercial treaty, stipulating for a joint occupancy for the purposes of trade. The logic of all those gentlemen who had spoken in favor of Oregon appears to be very sound; and therefore I adopt principally all the views of gentlemen who had spoken on this side of the subject; and I have transmitted many of their speeches to my constituency, thereby, in the main, endorsing their views, and making my own known.

I am determined to claim all Oregon, and am ready to claim all the continent, upon the principle of manifest destiny urged by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BAKER] and my transcendental friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. LEVIN.]

I am not accustomed to deal in poetry, and therefore gentlemen must excuse me for not introducing any in my remarks; but I am perfectly willing to take all the poetry that has been recited here, good and bad, applicable or not, and whether new or old acquaintances. So in regard to all the declarations which have been made in the debate against the abominations of the British government: I adopt the whole of them; and, moreover, I hope that their authors will consider that, after having done their best, were I to launch out on that subject, they would be most signally outdone.

Sir, I do not believe that we shall take the whole world; but if we do not, our principles will. Our

principles are extending all over the world. The last war did much to extend them, and another will extend them further. We have seen gradual encroachment on the monopolies and governmental abuses of the Old World, and we have witnessed the concessions made by them to popular rights. Lately we have witnessed the yielding of British ministers to the progress of liberal principles; and oh! how grudgingly do they make any concession. All this is the result of the American principles in favor of equal rights and popular self-government becoming gradually known to the world. The ultimate triumph of our principles, such as progressive democracy will make them, is sure, and it will come in God's own good time.

We started at the late election with our principles—the reduction of the tariff, Texas, and Oregon. One of them has been carried triumphantly through, and the tariff reform and Oregon remain to be disposed of. I presume that a few democrats will be found missing when we come to the vote on the Oregon question. Well, I hope there will be enough democrats left to carry the measure; and we are desirous to carry it independently of the action of our political opponents. We would not desire to be, like a distinguished whig member in 1841, [Mr. WISE,] obliged to appeal to our adversaries to “save us from our friends,” and to look around us to hunt up republicans. I see public opinion rallying around this question, and that democrats and whigs are sending up their prayers here for Oregon, their country, its integrity and honor. I am glad to see that, on this truly American question, our political opponents here instructed by their constituencies, are, many of them, about to give their voices to us upon this question; but I would be yet more delighted to see the party to which I belong a unit now as heretofore.

In the northwest, we go for all the issues of 1844. I regret to see that some portion of the party in Congress is hanging back; perhaps it is expected to save the tariff of 1842. I hear of a drag on that point, of some impracticable Pennsylvanians who will not sustain us in carrying out all the principles of 1844. I will say to our political opponents that if we should find Pennsylvania a “fixed fact” in the way of our tariff reform, you cannot laugh at us for it. So if South Carolina should be a “fixed fact” in our way on the Oregon question, you need not jeer us. Our opponents cannot laugh at us even should we fail; for we have gained Texas even should we lose the tariff reform and Oregon, and that is much more than you gained. What did you get by your victory in 1840? Nothing but the distribution law, which we repealed in a few months after. But you cannot repeal the annexation of Texas. I am glad to see that we have many honorable friends on the other side of the House, who, although at the late election they considered Oregon a humbug, now find themselves paralyzed by the will of their constituents; and I would not discourage them from taking that course which they now found expedient, even by a taunt which I am incapable of uttering.

I have said that I believed this treaty to be strictly commercial in its character; and, therefore, I care not what we may do, it will not violate its provisions so long as we leave the British in possession of their stipulated rights. I think that we can do all under it that Great Britain has done, and something more. We may organize a Territorial government in Oregon, and even admit it as a State of the

Union. We may take military possession of it for the purpose of defending our settlers there from the Indians; and all this we have a right to do before we give the notice. If the President had not recommended the notice, I should not myself have proposed it. I would have waited until the presence of the British subjects in Oregon, and their enjoyment of the privileges secured by treaty had become uncomfortable to our people. The British always professed that they valued the territory merely for its commercial privileges and for nothing else, and we have a right to take them at their word. By giving the notice, as it seems to me, we make a quasi admission that we have not a right to take the steps above alluded to without first giving the notice. These are my opinions, and I am not prepared yet to relinquish them; but the President has had the subject under his eye, and has given to it much attention. He recommends the notice, and it may, and probably will, turn out that he is right. In cases where no practical principle is involved, and where the question presented is one of expediency merely, I will sustain my party friends, and the administration created by them. If you ask why I will do this, I will say that it is necessary in order to harmonize our party, and that it is the only way to keep our whig friends beaten. But I have another reason for going for the notice—that I am instructed positively by my constituents to go for it. There is not one democrat, and but very few whigs, among my constituents who would not unite in instructing me to that effect.

Some gentlemen say that they will not vote for the notice for fear it should result in a war. Some have even said that the notice will be, *per se*, cause of war. But the British negotiators never considered that it would be a cause of war. How was it possible that those who framed the convention could have provided for the notice, if it was to be the cause of a war? But others say that it is no cause for a war, and that, on the contrary, it will hasten an adjustment of the question; and that is probably a fair view of the subject. Some say that it will irritate Great Britain—that it will wake her up, and alarm the Hudson Bay Company, because it threatened their valuable privileges, and induce them to strengthen themselves in Oregon. For the sake of peace I would yield the British subjects their present commercial privileges for a good time to come; but this would be on condition of a full recognition of our right to Oregon; and I would sustain the President in making such a treaty after the notice was given.

But I admit that the notice may tend to war, and very probably lead to it when it shall be carried out by the adoption of measures for taking possession of the territory, and practically asserting our rights by establishing a Territorial government, granting lands to settlers, and controlling the Indian tribes. But shall this prevent us from asserting our title? Is that the attitude of the American people? Shall we look across the waters, and ask Great Britain whether we shall be allowed to take possession of our own soil, on our own continent? Of course she would answer, No. In my opinion, sir, we shall, at the end of the year, if not before, take possession of Oregon; and that may bring the matter to the issue of war. I think so because I believe that the pretence of Great Britain that she wanted Oregon merely for a hunting-ground is false; but that she places the highest value on it on account of its commercial facilities. Great Britain had always been

alert in improving her commerce with barbarous nations, for no commerce was more profitable.

The Indian traders, as it was well known in our country, always reaped rich harvests. Great Britain knows the value of Oregon, and I believe that she will fight for it; and I know that the American people will fight for it. The harbors of Oregon, fronting a barbarous world, afford admirable facilities for carrying on trade; and barbarous nations are always the best customers of civilized people. Northern Oregon would also be a manufacturing country, for it abounded in water power. California will afford vast quantities of raw cotton for the supply of Oregon factories, and there is no difficulty in the navigation between Oregon and California. And so great is the supply of ship timber which Oregon furnishes, that more than half the ships of the world will in forty years be built in the northern part of that territory. The harbors of Puget's sound will afford naval stations, and through them we would soon command the whole commerce of the Pacific; without them, Oregon would not be worth a straw to us, for there were no good harbors south of Puget's sound, and the major part of commercial and ship-building facilities are north of latitude 49°.

My doctrine is, to go ahead and assert our rights; and as to the results, not to stop to calculate them. I will at least utter no boastful calculations as to the results. "Let not him who putteth on his armor boast himself as he who putteth it off." Even if we were certain that the results of a war would be at first adverse to us, yet should we vote for the notice, and the other measures consequent upon it. We may safely put our trust in the justice of our cause and in the kind protection of divine Providence, and the struggle must end like our former wars—in a glorious triumph, and in the diffusion of our principles.

The day will come when every interest and every party that is opposed to Oregon will crumble into dust. I have heard some speculations upon the consequences of our extension of territory, and of the annexation of the Mexican and other states to our Union. I do not want any mixed races in our Union, nor men of any color except white, unless they be slaves. Certainly, not as voters or legislators. My constituents will never consent that their representative in this hall shall hold political discussion with the honorable colored member from Mexico. They know that this would lead to a political strife for ascendancy between colors, ending in revolution and blood.

If Mexico, after going through half a dozen more revolutions, should become capable of self-government, and apply for annexation, I would vote against it, unless her colored races should come in as slaves, or be otherwise excluded from political privileges. My constituents cannot agree to admit colored men to the exercise of the right of suffrage; and they cheerfully acquiesce in the representative basis which the constitution has provided for the slave-holding States. Independent States, composed of white people thoroughly imbued with our principles of self-government, we will receive into our Union at their own request; but even them we do not wish to coerce into our Union, or to annex by conquest. If we find a stray independency floating about, and wanting protection, we will take it in. When the volcano, sleeping in the bosom of the British empire, shall burst forth, and Canada shall be lopped off, it might be a question whether it

shall be annexed to our Union. Should we conquer it, we will give it back to Great Britain; for I do not wish to annex her loyal Scotch and English people. Her Irish and French inhabitants I might be willing to unite with; but it would take fifty years to learn the Scotch and English of Canada, un-Americanized by association, the principles of our free institutions.

The Irish make good citizens. They take to liberty naturally. Pat is an American from the word go. If Canada should ever become independent and capable of self-government, and apply for annexation, we will think of it. But I would annex any part of the world where the American people go and settle, and form communities. We have done so, and we will do it again.

This, sir, (said Mr. W.), is a progressive question. Texas was so also; and if Great Britain wants a compromise with us, she had better speak at once. When the annexation of Texas was proposed here, I remember how fearful some gentlemen were in this House, that the people would not sustain it; but they soon found that the people were ahead of them on the question, and were almost unanimous for the measure. When gentlemen first take their seats here, they sometimes imagine themselves very wise, and think that wisdom will die with them; but after a while they begin to find themselves mistaken, particularly if they try often to get the floor. A little experience here has learned many a man not to be wiser than his constituents. The same lesson may be learned again. We annexed the territory of Texas. We, in the northwest, charge nothing for our assistance in that matter. We went "on our own hook" on that question, and if we had not done so, Indiana herself would have gone and taken it with a rush. The people, as usual, are ahead of their representatives; it was so on the Texan question, and it is so on this. If I should come back to this House at the next Congress, (and I think, perhaps, I may,) I shall find, I fear, that several of my excellent old acquaintances will not be here, and they will owe their defeat to their opposition to this measure. This, I say, sir, is a progressive question, and before this Congress is ended the days of compromise will be ended. So, you who are trembling at the thought of war, and reasoning as to the value of rights, had better yield and obey the voice of the people. The people alone have the right to do and command wrong. Your constituents at home, while you are debating this question, are going strong for Oregon. They expected that, before this, we should have provided measures for the protection of emigrants, our friends and brothers, and their wives and children; and that by this time they would be with their horses and wagons on the road to Oregon. We will have to do it, or the people will send representatives here who will obey their voice.

NOTE.—It would be totally unnecessary for Mr. Wick to explain any of his remarks to his own constituency, or to those who heard them. But his speech will be read by others, strangers to him, and his peculiarities of manner. To such, he has desired us to say, that some of his descriptions were intended to be caricatures, and especially that his description of the mode in which the citizens of the northwest assert their personal honor is so highly a caricature, that the fact represented would not readily be guessed. The people of the northwest are essentially kind in feeling, peaceable, and moderate in their modes of seeking satisfaction for personal griefs or insults.

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